

and more efficient; creating state-of-the-art classrooms and labs and libraries; and investing in job training that Americans will need to succeed in the 21st century global economy will give us tangible assets we can use for years to come to foster additional economic growth.

As chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, I would like to highlight that the funding for State and local law enforcement in this recovery package will not only help to address vital crime prevention needs, but it will have an immediate and positive impact on the economy, as police chiefs and experts from across the country told the Judiciary Committee in its first hearing this year. Hiring new police officers will stimulate the economy and lead to safer communities and neighborhoods.

Nobody thinks this bill is perfect. We could write 100 different perfect bills based on our own analysis. But America is hurting, and Americans urgently need our help. I believe this economic recovery package will make a timely and constructive difference across the country by creating and saving jobs, making needed infrastructure investments, reducing the tax burden on struggling families, and relieving the strain on State budget deficits.

Vermonters are watching and waiting. Working families across the country are watching and waiting. Time is running out. I will vote aye.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana is recognized.

TRIBUTE TO MILLARD FULLER

Ms. LANDRIEU. Mr. President, I come to the floor today to pay tribute to a great American who we lost earlier this month.

Millard Fuller, the founder and former president of Habitat for Humanity, was a personal friend to me and many Members of Congress. Many of us worked closely with Millard Fuller, particularly in the last 15 years of his extraordinary leadership.

I wish to take a minute today to pay tribute to Millard and his family—his wife Linda, his son Christopher, his daughters Kim, Faith and Georgia and his nine grandchildren. He has left behind these loved ones who will carry on his important work. Linda was a co-founder of Habitat for Humanity, and a driving force in the creation of this organization that has touched the lives of literally millions of people around the world.

When I think of where Millard Fuller died unexpectedly earlier this month, near the small town of Americus, GA, I cannot help but be reminded of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, one of the most inspiring documents ever written. This declaration reminds us that when we speak about human rights, we must remember that the recognition of these rights begins in small places close to home, places so

small that they can't necessarily be seen on maps. It is in these small places that people long for dignity and respect.

Sometimes in the Senate, we get carried away with grand visions of universal rights and broad, sweeping policies to protect these rights. But when you get right down to it, our visions are carried out in our own neighborhoods, in our own courthouses and in very small places like Americus, GA.

By the age of 29, Millard Fuller had made his first million dollars. He was a man with a great mind and extraordinary leadership abilities, who could have made a great fortune for his wife, his children and himself. But instead, with his wife's urging, Millard Fuller and Linda decided to take the multiple talents God had given them and refocus their lives on Christian service. They set their hearts on making a difference in the world, and the result was an organization that is one of the greatest nonprofits I have come to know.

In 1968, Millard Fuller and Linda began a Christian ministry on a farm in southwest Georgia where they built decent housing for low-income families using volunteer labor and donations. This concept was expanded into what is now Habitat for Humanity International and the Fuller Center for Housing. By 1981, Habitat had affiliates in 14 States, and was carrying out its mission to build homes with volunteer labor, ensuring that these homes were affordable to the poor and those of modest means.

Many Senators have commented privately and publicly about his extraordinary organization, and President Carter once remarked that Millard Fuller was one of the greatest talents he had ever known—serious words coming from a President. President Carter was a personal friend of Millard Fuller, and in 1984, he became a Habitat volunteer, giving his name and resources to Millard Fuller's organization. President and Mrs. Carter became the faces of Habitat for Humanity, and would attract thousands of people to volunteer during the Jimmy Carter Work Project, an annual week-long effort to build Habitat homes all over the world. By 1992, Habitat had a presence in 92 nations.

I was very fortunate to have met Millard Fuller. He was an inspiration to me and, as I have said, to many Senators. Many of us come into our young adulthood and say we want to make a difference in the world, and we all try in our various ways. Many of us never quite accomplish that. But Millard Fuller did. He had an impact on the world, and the world will remember his life and his vision. The world will remember that in this great land of wealth and opportunity, Millard Fuller thought it was shameful that people were living without decency and respect.

He said it is not what Jesus would want. It is not what the Bible teaches. It is not what those of the Christian

faith believe. He built Habitat on a simple principle that the poor are not lazy, but very industrious—that if the poor were given a chance, they could accomplish a great deal.

In order to occupy a Habitat house, the family who is going to live there gets to build the home with their neighbors, with the kind of old-fashioned, rock-ribbed community values of pitching in, building a home, and building upon that solid foundation.

Not only was it Millard Fuller's vision to give families a decent place to live, he wanted to give them something to own. Owning a home paves the way for being able to finance against the equity in that home to build a business, to send children to college, and to establish a future.

I want people to know that paying tribute to Millard Fuller is about more than just building homes. Millard Fuller's life was about building hope, building a future and literally changing the course of life—creating an upward trajectory for people around the world.

I don't believe that Millard Fuller knew what an impact he had. I only hope we will remember him often. And when we do, as leaders in the Senate and the House, as Governors, and in the White House, we will recommit ourselves to realizing the simple principles that Millard Fuller lived every day.

After Hurricanes Katrina and Rita and the devastation that hit the gulf coast, Habitat was one of the first organizations on the ground. Millard and his wife Linda came to Louisiana and helped us to start building on higher ground. They built not just in the New Orleans area and along the gulf coast of Mississippi, but also in Shreveport, LA, where they joined with a group of local leaders to start new organizations that built homes for people in northwest Louisiana.

I would like to read one personal testimony from Cherie Ashley, who is the executive director of Habitat for Humanity in Northwest Louisiana. She and her family were beneficiaries of this work. Cherie was originally from New Orleans, but the flood waters of Katrina forced her out. She fled to Shreveport with her family. She said:

I was blessed with one of the first of the three homes that was built in Allendale, in Northwest Louisiana. Mr. Fuller was passionate about the work he did and he was passionate about eliminating poverty across this nation. The Fuller Center for Housing and Habitat for Humanity of Northwest Louisiana have provided me and my children the opportunity to regain stability and normalcy after such a life altering event—Hurricane Katrina. I am not just the Executive Director for Habitat for Humanity of Northwest Louisiana, most importantly, I am a proud Habitat homeowner, and that's what God—through Millard Fuller—did for me.

He most certainly was a man who lived up to God's calling. I believe we would do ourselves well to remember him often, to thank Linda and his family for the tremendous sacrifice they made, and to honor him by continuing his work.

I ask unanimous consent that his obituaries from the New York Times and the Atlanta Journal-Constitution be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Atlanta Journal-Constitution, Feb. 11, 2009]

HABITAT FOUNDER'S GONE, BUT WORK CAN'T BE FORGOTTEN
(By Lynda Spofford)

During a time of renewed optimism yet extreme economic distress, our country is searching for heroes. I can't help but feel we took a big step backward with the death of Millard Fuller last week.

Like the country he loved, Millard Fuller was a man of great contrasts. Someone once described him as part honey, part jet fuel, and surely that was true.

Fuller was a highly educated son of the Deep South who made his first million by the time he was 29. A practicing lawyer, Fuller was troubled by racial and economic injustice and worked to redress it, first by defending black citizens in Sumter County, and later at Koinonia Farms—an interracial community founded by Clarence Jordan for black people and white people to live and work together in a spirit of partnership. There, Habitat for Humanity was formed.

As the founder of Habitat, Fuller transformed the concept of philanthropy, mobilizing armies of volunteers to shelter a million people in need. For his vision, inspiration and labor, he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

When his 30-year career as founder and president of Habitat for Humanity ended, Fuller started a similar organization in his own name.

In the four years it operated, the Fuller Center brought thousands of families and communities together to build decent, affordable homes in places as close as the hurricane-ravaged U.S. Gulf coast to as far away as Romania, Nigeria and Sri Lanka. Bringing inspiration to the inner city, Fuller also set about renovating low-income homes in poor condition, asking that the beneficiaries mail modest contributions on a regular basis to keep the "repair cycle" going.

The Fuller Center model rested on the small community efforts often deemed unworthy of the administrative hassle by other, larger organizations. Yet it was precisely these grass-roots programs that had the greatest appeal to Fuller.

In defiance of those who felt he was too slow to shed his unapologetic Christian bent, Fuller called his new organization a "housing ministry." Ironically, as he held tight to the Christian origins that were part of the founding of the group, his organization embraced people of all backgrounds around the world to achieve his goals—Muslims, Hindus, Christians and Jews—a multi-faith appeal that is increasingly popular today. Fuller knew what many evangelists often forget: that decent shelter should be a matter of conscience and action no matter who you worship or what books you read.

For those who followed him, he was part deity, part rock star. The people who gathered in churches and town meeting halls to hear him speak understood his almost other-world appeal. I knew him more as a kindly grandfather and green-shade fiduciary who took time to write personal responses to every letter and e-mail he received. A woman from North Dakota always asked Fuller to send a stamp along with his reply so that she could write back. (He did.) Another entrusted his stewardship to everything she owned of value—a pencil, some loose change

and her wedding ring—all crammed into a padded envelope.

In the years he worked, he took a modest salary for himself. In 2008, his annual salary was \$21,000 a year (often donating a portion back)—and he insisted on driving a 1992 Ford Taurus with a torn roof liner. Yet he quietly paid for college tuition for many bright young people who couldn't afford it, including children he met when their families received a new Habitat house. He did this quietly and without fanfare.

As I read the news, I can't help but note the irony of the hype and attention we bestow upon our celebrities and athletic champions, society's heroes. I watch the television at night to find that even reputable news organizations are wasting time on Jessica Simpson's high-waisted jeans and other trivial Hollywood gossip. I wonder how many other Millard Fullers are working in the trenches we ignore while glorifying others with far less notable accomplishments.

Last week, our country lost a true hero. There was no halftime show, no parade, no costumed dancers. He was buried in a plain wooden shipping crate and laid to rest in a pecan orchard without a headstone.

I hope the world remembers.

[From the New York Times, Feb. 4, 2009]

MILLARD FULLER, 74, WHO FOUNDED HABITAT FOR HUMANITY, IS DEAD
(By Douglas Martin)

Millard Fuller, who at 29 walked away from his life as a successful businessman to devote himself to the poor, eventually starting Habitat for Humanity International, which spread what he called "the theology of the hammer" by building more than 300,000 homes worldwide, died Tuesday near Americus, Ga. He was 74.

His brother, Doyle, said Mr. Fuller became ill with a severe headache and chest pains and was taken to a hospital in Americus, his hometown. He died in an ambulance on the way to a larger hospital in Albany, Ga. Doyle Fuller said the cause had not been determined, but may have been an aneurysm.

Propelled by his strong Christian principles, Millard Fuller used Habitat to develop a system of using donated money and material, and voluntary labor, to build homes for low-income families. The homes are sold without profit and buyers pay no interest. Buyers are required to help build their houses, contributing what Mr. Fuller called sweat equity.

More than a million people live in the homes, which are in more than 100 countries. There are 180 in New York City, including some that former President Jimmy Carter, a longtime Habitat supporter and volunteer, personally helped construct. Mr. Carter said of him on Tuesday that "he was an inspiration to me, other members of our family, and an untold number of volunteers who worked side by side under his leadership."

Former President Bill Clinton has also volunteered on Habitat projects. When he presented Mr. Fuller the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1996, he said, "I don't think it's an exaggeration to say that Millard Fuller has literally revolutionized the concept of philanthropy."

Mr. Fuller said his inspiration came from the Bible, starting with the injunction in Exodus 22:25 against charging interest to the poor. He spoke of the "economics of Jesus" and insisted that providing shelter to all was "a matter of conscience." Christianity Today in 1999 called him "God's contractor."

His skills included fund-raising finesse, an exuberant speaking style and a talent for making use of the news media. In 1986, The Chicago Tribune quoted him asking a publicity man about a woman in front of her

ramshackle apartment, "Don't you think that'd make some great pictures to show her in that rat-infested place?"

The article later said Mr. Fuller did not expect to house the world. "Instead," it said, "he sees Habitat as a hammer that can drive the image of a woman in a rat-infested apartment as deep into the mind of America as the image of an African child with a distended stomach."

Mr. Fuller liked to tell and re-tell the stories of his earliest houses. One man had moved from a leaky shack into a new house.

"When it rains, I love to sit by the window and see it raining outside," one new homeowner said, "and it ain't raining on me!"

Another new resident saw his new home as a literal resurrection. "Being in this house is like we were dead and buried, and got dug up!" she said.

In 2005, a woman employed by Habitat accused Mr. Fuller of verbally and physically harassing her, a widely publicized charge that an investigation by the organization did not prove. But he and a new generation of Habitat board members were disagreeing on organizational and other issues, and he and his wife agreed to resign.

Mr. Fuller started a new organization called the Fuller Center for Housing. It is active in 24 states and 14 foreign countries.

Millard Dean Fuller was born on Jan. 3, 1935, in Lanett, Ala., then a small cotton-mill town. His mother died when he was 3, and his father remarried. Millard's business career began at 6 when his father gave him a pig. He fattened it up and sold it for \$11. Soon he was buying and selling more pigs, then rabbits and chickens as well. He dabbled in selling worms and minnows to fishermen.

When he was 10, his father acquired 400 acres of farmland, and Mr. Fuller sold his small animals to raise cattle. He remembered helping his father repair a tiny, ramshackle shack that an elderly couple had inhabited on the property. He was thrilled to see their joy when the work was complete.

Mr. Fuller went to Auburn University, running unsuccessfully for student body president, and in 1956 was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. He graduated from Auburn with a degree in economics in 1957 and entered the University of Alabama School of Law.

He and Morris S. Dees Jr., another law student, decided to go into business together while in the law school. They set a goal: get rich.

They built a successful direct-mail operation, published student directories and set up a service to send cakes to students on their birthdays. They also bought dilapidated real estate and refurbished it themselves. They graduated and went into law practice together after Mr. Fuller briefly served in the Army as a lieutenant.

As law partners, they continued to make money. Selling 65,000 locally produced tractor cushions to the Future Farmers of America made \$75,000. Producing cookbooks for the Future Homemakers of America did even better, and they became one of the nation's largest cookbook publishers. By 1964, they were millionaires. Mr. Dees went on to help found the Southern Poverty Law Center.

Mr. Fuller's life changed completely after his wife, the former Linda Caldwell, whom he had married in 1959, threatened to leave him. She was frustrated that her busy husband was almost never around, and she had had an affair, their friend Bettie B. Youngs wrote in "The House That Love Built" (2007), a joint biography. For the rest of his career, he talked openly about repairing the marriage.

There was much soul-searching. Finally, the two agreed to start their life anew on Christian principles. Eschewing material

things was the first step. Gone were the speedboat, the lakeside cabin, the fancy cars.

The Fullers went to Koinonia Farm, a Christian community in Georgia, where they planned their future with Clarence Jordan, a Bible scholar and leader there. In 1968, they began building houses for poor people nearby, then went to Zaire in 1973 to start a project that ultimately built 114 houses.

In 1976, a group met in a converted chicken barn at Koinonia Farm and started Habitat for Humanity International. Participants agreed the organization would work through local chapters. They decided to accept government money only for infrastructure improvements like streets and sidewalks.

Handwritten notes from the meeting stated the group's grand ambition: to build housing for a million low-income people. That goal was reached in August 2005, when home number 200,000 was built. Each home houses an average of five people.

The farm announced plans for a simple public burial service for Mr. Fuller on Wednesday.

Besides his brother, Doyle, of Montgomery, Ala., and his wife, Mr. Fuller is survived by their son, Christopher, of Macon, Ga.; their daughters, Kim Isakson of Argyle, Tex., Faith Umstattd of Americus, and Georgia Luedi of Jacksonville, Fla.; and nine grandchildren.

After Hurricanes Katrina and Rita, the Fuller Center built a house in Shreveport, La., for a mother and her daughters, one named Genesis, the other Serenity. Mr. Fuller loved the religious connotations he saw in their names.

"What will little Genesis become?" he asked at the time. "What will little Serenity become? We don't know, but we know one thing: if we give them a good place to live, they've got a better chance."

Ms. LANDRIEU. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Arizona is recognized.

TRIBUTE TO AMBASSADOR RYAN CROCKER

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute to an American patriot, a man of the finest caliber, and a diplomat whose skills and determination have helped alter history's course for the better.

In a few days, Ambassador Ryan Crocker will depart his post as the chief American diplomat in Iraq. His departure will mark the close of a storied career, one of nearly 40 years of distinguished service to our country. In dedicating his career to furthering America's interests and ideals in the far reaches of the globe, and in coupling his dedication with a tremendously adventurous spirit, Ryan Crocker has become known informally as our own "Lawrence of Arabia."

As a young man in Walla Walla, WA, Ryan Crocker decided to depart not for

the beaches of southern California but, rather, abroad, hitchhiking from western Europe to Southeast Asia. By the time he graduated from Whitman College in 1971, Ambassador Crocker had already visited more of the world than most Americans will throughout their lifetimes. His extensive travel and interest in global politics and culture led him to join the Foreign Service in 1971.

Ambassador Crocker quickly developed a reputation for incredible dedication in the face of challenges. From his early days at the State Department, he was assigned to some of the most difficult posts in the Foreign Service. He worked in Iran, Qatar, Egypt, and in Saddam Hussein's Iraq. He was in the Embassy in Beirut in 1983, when a Hezbollah suicide bomber killed 63 people. Thrown against the wall by the blast, Ambassador Crocker immediately began helping others escape the rubble.

He went on to serve as Ambassador to Lebanon, Kuwait, Syria, Pakistan, and Iraq. During his time in Damascus, demonstrators assaulted his residence and, in 2002, he reopened the U.S. Embassy in Kabul, which had been untouched by Americans since 1989. A newspaper account illustrates the spirit that animates this selfless patriot:

He arrived to find a cobweb-strewn wreck full of 1989 newspapers, broken Wang computers and maps of the old Soviet Union. U.S. Marines outnumbered diplomats by 3 to 1, and all 100 Americans slept on cots and shared two working toilets. Yet Crocker was upbeat. "The men and women of this mission are extremely proud to be a forward element," Crocker told [Secretary of State] Powell at the time.

Throughout all these assignments, Ryan Crocker has approached his work with resolve, tenacity, and a unique ability to see the broader strategic issues in play. Had he never gone to lead the U.S. Embassy in Iraq, the American people would owe him deep gratitude. Had he not accepted the challenge in Baghdad, he would have nevertheless won the sincere appreciation and admiration of all Senators. Yet it was in his decision to become America's Ambassador to Iraq that Ryan Crocker has left his true mark on history, and we are all the better off for it.

He was sworn in not here in Washington, as is customary, but in Baghdad, and in March 2007, as the surge of troops to Iraq was commencing, GEN David Petraeus had taken over as commander, and our Nation was making its greatest, and possibly final, push to avoid disaster in Iraq. Let us remember that in 2007, as public support for the war plummeted, we in Congress were engaged in a great debate about the way forward in Iraq. Sectarian violence was spiraling out of control, life had become a struggle for survival, and a full-scale civil war seemed almost unavoidable. Al-Qaida in Iraq was on the offensive and entire Iraqi provinces were under the control of extremists. Noting that "here in Iraq, America faces its most critical foreign policy

challenge," Ambassador Crocker did not sugarcoat the situation or present an overly rosy scenario. He never does. He stressed just how hard the path ahead would be but stressed also that it was not impossible. As he would later testify before the Armed Services Committee, "hard does not mean hopeless."

It was this combination—cold-eyed appraisal of the reality of Iraq combined with hope that things could change for the better—that was so refreshing every time I visited Baghdad. In a true partnership with General Petraeus, Ambassador Crocker executed a civil military counterinsurgency plan for Iraq that turned the tide of violence in a timeframe and to a degree that surprised even the optimists. He ensured unprecedented cooperation between the military, the Embassy, and our allies. His decades of experience in the Middle East proved invaluable as he navigated an increasingly complex and contentious regional dynamic. His efforts, in coordination with the brave men and women of the military and State Department, are the reason we find ourselves in a situation many thought was not possible.

Ryan Crocker's determination to succeed in a situation where many would have failed should inspire us all. Yet any who have followed the career of this skilled and extraordinary diplomat shouldn't be surprised. His creative and pragmatic approach to diplomacy has earned respect both at home and abroad. His list of awards and achievements is long and distinguished, including the Presidential Meritorious Service Award, the State Department Distinguished Honor Award, the American Foreign Service Association Rivkin Award, and most recently the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the Nation's highest civilian commendation.

I am immensely grateful for the enormous contributions that Ambassador Crocker has made to the Department of State, to our Nation, and the people of Iraq. As he departs Baghdad, he will be sorely missed. We wish Ambassador Crocker and his family all the best as he enters the next chapter of his life. He has earned the respect and admiration of a grateful nation.

I have had the great honor for many years to travel the world and encounter many of our wonderful Foreign Service personnel and the men and women who serve in posts throughout the world. They serve with dedication and most of the time without the appreciation they deserve. I have been so impressed with the people who have dedicated their lives to serving this Nation all around the world, in many cases in the most difficult of circumstances. I know of no one I have met in my life who epitomizes public service more than Ryan Crocker; a quiet demeanor, modesty, and, frankly, a knowledge of the issues and the complexities which would take many hours to describe that prevail in the Middle East.